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The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [756] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

• 791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kâilala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

7/1 [See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kâilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
W priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
793 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
755 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
776 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
753 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
778 ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

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/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 7/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]